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MILITARISM IMPARTIALLY OBSERVED

Karl Liebknecht, the brave leader of the German Minority Socialists, has become one of the most popular of Inter-Allied heroes. When Mr. Arthur Henderson, at the Blackpool Trade Union Congress, referred to Liebknecht a storm of cheering burst forth from the War-men, no less than from the Peace-men. Even the Allied capitalist jingo press has lavished its praises upon Liebknecht. But the standpoint of Liebknecht is the same standpoint as that of the Socialist Internationalists of this country, who because they have opposed the War just as Liebknecht opposed it are so bitterly abused by the capitalist press.

Liebknecht was one of the strongest anti-militarists in Europe before the war. His book "Militarism and Anti-Militarism," now most opportunely issued in English by the Socialist Labour Press, which was published in the early part of 1907, and confiscated in August of the same year, earned for its author a sentence of 18 months' imprisonment. When Liebknecht said that this War was "not for the defence of national integrity, nor for the liberation of down-trodden peoples, nor for the benefit of the masses," he was not referring alone to Germany's part in the War for he says:

"To this the working class of all countries can give but one answer: A harder struggle, the international class struggle against capitalist Governments and the ruling classes of all countries for the abolition of oppression and exploitation, for the termination of the war by a peace in the Socialist spirit."

In Militarism and Anti-Militarism Liebknecht shows that militarism belongs to all the systems of class society and that the capitalist system has developed its own special variety of militarism, a variety with which unfortunately we are all too familiar to-day. He explains that in the primitive communism of agricultural peoples militarism did not exist, and that in feudal times the knights were well armed, the esquires but poorly so, and the "lower orders" scarcely at all. Thus the power of the "upper classes" was maintained and in the German Peasant Wars as in Watt Tyler's rebellion in England, the workers were defeated. The armies of to-day and the battle-fields of to-day correspond with modern capitalism, with the factory system and the great constructional undertakings which have developed under it. A Russian inventor recently told us that he had submitted to the British War Office a moveable gun carriage, to which various guns could be adapted and by which 500 guns could be fired by machinery released by a single man. Probably the inventor was a madman, but modern warfare is trending in that direction.

Militarism, as Liebknecht shows, is for use both against external and internal enemies. He thought when he wrote in 1907 that War in Europe itself was becoming less probable in spite of the following causes of danger:—

"Alsace-Lorraine and the anxiety caused by the French trinity, Clemenceau, Pichon and Picquart," the anxiety caused by the North African policy of conquest with which these men were associated.

The Russian Revolution, the Eastern question, and Pan-Islamism.

Friction handed down in the first place by Pan-Islamism and the Eastern question, and arising out of the colonial policy and the commercial and political aims of expansion of the so-called civilised States.

Militarism.

Marinism or naval militarism, which he held to be not only the consequence of the policy of expansion, but a more dangerous predisposing influence for War even than militarism.

The ever growing economic rivalry between Britain and Germany.

Karl Liebknecht, in Germany, like Keir Hardie in England, saw looming the danger of War, and hoped that it might be averted.

Of the function of militarism abroad Liebknecht explains that though it is called a national function it does not correspond with the interest, welfare, or will of the people of the nation, but serves only the interests of capitalism, paving the way for recklessly chaotic production and "trampling underfoot all the duties of civilisation towards the less developed peoples," whom the capitalists are enslaving behind the screen of the cant phrase "bearing the white men's burden." So much for the war against the external enemy, the war against the internal enemy is the war against the disinherited who writhe half consciously under the burdens of capitalism and against those who consciously desire to move on from Capitalism into Socialism. For the internal war Liebknecht rightly affirms the defenders of the existing order would prefer soldiers of low intellect in order to secure complete subservience, but the modern technique of arms and strategy now makes great demands upon the intellect of the soldier. In this dilemma militarists endeavour to create in the intelligent soldier the "military spirit."

Liebknecht discusses militarism in many lands, but he takes as "the exemplary model" the Prussian-German which he regards as the worst form. But his description of Prussian militarism reveals at every turn militarism as we know it in this country. In creating the military spirit in the soldiers the first step, as Liebknecht tells us, is to cut the recruit off from his family and comrades, and remove him to barracks. That is precisely what is done here. It would have been perfectly possible to arrange that the London recruits should be trained in the neighbourhood of London, the Glasgow recruits in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, but as a rule the men have been trained very far from their homes, even when lack of barrack accommodation necessitated billeting in private houses. When men come home wounded they are rarely sent to hospitals near their homes.

Liebknecht refers to the glorifying of the military caste which is trumpeted as most important and respected:—

"They cannot dispense with bright uniforms, glittering buttons and helmets, the flags, parade drills

cavalry attacks, and all the rubbish needed to create the necessary spirit in the struggle against the enemy at home. In war against the external enemy these things may become downright fatal or simply impossible."

All this is familiar to us, the gaudy uniforms, the Horse Guards at St. James,' the King's birthday review in peace times, the recruiting posters of war time. Useless military parades in Germany hold up the traffic, Liebknecht cites an occasion when they held up the fire-engines hurrying to save life. In Blackpool during the Trade Union Congress week, Sir F. E. Smith arrived to speak at a War aims meeting. He was given a military welcome, and for a considerable time a double line of soldiers was drawn up right across the centre of the town. The soldiers stood about six feet apart, but civilians were ordered not to pass between them to cross the road; crowds of angry protesting people were held up by them. We may seek to discount these things, but undoubtedly they create an effect which tends to mould the opinion and character of the masses. Do we not find that London. where the chief military display is lavished, is the most jingo quarter in the British Isles?

Liebknecht protests against the slight punishment of officers who commit offences against soldiers and the excessive punishment of soldiers for tiny faults, he says that the Prussian authorities first denied the existence of barbarous punishments; then justified them. The same indictment can justly be made here. The illtreatment of conscientious objectors which has been condoned by the authorities, the pouring of hot coffee over a soldier in a railway station by an officer, who was "reprimanded" only after a Parliamentry protest had been made are cases in point. The existence of the field punishment called crucifixion was at first denied by the Parliamentry representatives of the War Office, then justified, it being merely promised that the punishment should be standardised so that the legs and arms of a short man should not be stretched to fit the torture apparatus to which a tall man is tied with arms extended above his head and legs apart. These punishments Liebknecht describes as the whip, which he says is used "sparingly." "Sweetmeats" are also used. Men selected as corporals and non-commissioned officers who agree to serve two extra years in the German Army receive a bonus of £5. Such "sweetmeats" are the rule here

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LORD RHONDDA'S MINERS PAID 13/6 A WEEK

ANOTHER SOUTH WALES STRIKE.

The public is under the impression that the South Wales Miners all earn exceedingly high wages. Very startling, therefore, is the following list of payments taken at random from amongst many other, similar which was issued on Saturday, September 15th, to colliers employed at the pits formerly owned by the firm of D. Davies & Sons, and still bearing that name though now taken over by the Cambrian Combine, of which Lord Rhondda is the head:—

No. 8 COLLIERY.

£1 1s. 5d. for 5 days work.
£1 6s. 7d. „ „ „
13s. 6d. „ „ „

No. 7 COLLIERY.

13s. 6d. for 6 days work.

It is true that £3 4s. 3d. is the minimum wage for the collier, and that if the men who are employed on piece work fail to earn the minimum when employed in abnormal working places they have a legal right to demand that their earings shall be made up to the minimum. In this case the legal claim has not proved strong enough to secure this right to the men, and therefore the miners employed at this colliery decided to hand in notices on October 1st to take effect in a fortnight's time.

In the South Wales Valleys coal is cheap, housing is cheaper than in London—a six-roomed cottage costing about 8s. to 10s. a week; but everything else is more costly than in the big towns, and it is manifestly impossible for families to subsist on wages such as those quoted above.

Whilst Lord Rhondda's great Cambrian Combine is thus robbing the miners of their due, the Irish paper "Nationality" is protesting that the Coal Controller is putting up the price of the Grand Inflater's Coal in Ireland. It says:—

> A recent order has been issued allowing British shippers to charge 1s. 3d. per ton extra on Irish Shipments, while the Controller has prohibited Irish Shipments from Stafford, Derby, Notts, and most of Lancashire. This leaves practically South Wales to supply the Irish Trade, and thus the Grand Inflater is presented with a monopoly as well as an increase in the price of shipments.

Incidently we may observe that in spite of the high price of coal the shortage suffered by the people last winter and the ration system which is being set up for this winter, large numbers of colliers have been working short time throughout the War.

A VICTIM OF FORCIBLE FEEDING.

A Sinn Fein prisoner died in Mountjoy Prison under circumstances disgraceful to any Government, but most of all the one which poses as the model of the world. The English daily press does not see the wrong done to the prisoner from a humane standpoint; but urges that this incident will have a bad effect on the Convention which has been progressing favourably. It certainly will make more converts to the Sinn Fein policy. Who will not realise now, that there is nothing for Ireland but complete separation from a Government which has always failed to do the right thing in Ireland? Now that another life has been lost, the Sinn Fein prisoners are to be treated as political prisoners. Will the British Goverement wait until Ribeiro, the C.O., meets with a similar fate before releasing all the Absolutists?

BOMBARDMENT.

> *"On the morning of Sept. 18 the dug-out containing seventeen men was shot to pieces over our heads. I am the only one who withstood the maddening bombardment of three days and still survives. You cannot imagine the frightful mental torments I have undergone in those few hours.... After crawling out through the bleeding remnants of my comrades and the smoke and debris and wandering and fleeing in the midst of the raging artillery fire in search of a refuge, I am now awaiting death at any moment. You do not know what Flanders means. Flanders means endless endurance. Flanders means blood and scraps of human bodies. Flanders means heroic courage and faithfulness even unto death."*
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> —Note by an unknown German officer found on the battlefield and given by Phillip Gibbs in the "Daily Telegraph," October 3rd.

The battle front is terrible, and the terror of London daily approximates more closely to that of the battle front. By night and by day the sound of guns which occasionally crashes out sends people with blanched faces rushing for cover.

When evening comes crowds congregate outside the police stations watching for news, and at the entrances to underground stations and cellars waiting to take cover. The Tube stations and other places of shelter are not open to the public until warning of an impending raid is actually received. When it does come, a vast crowd has assembled, and there is grave danger of panic as the people rush down. At Liverpool Street Station on Saturday this danger became a hidious reality, and a woman was killed. It was stated at the inquest that only one of the various entrances to the station had been opened to admit the crowd. This was a grave error which we hope may not be repeated. We also urge that the stations and other places of shelter shall be opened each evening whether a warning is received or not. Where this is done such panics as that at Liverpool Street would be averted, for the people would have an opportunity to descend before receiving news of the immediate approach of the raiders. Moreover, whether a warning is received or not, the people assemble outside the places of safety and wait hour after hour for the doors to be opened. Children, and women with babies in their arms crouch on the cold stones, which in these misty autumn evenings are wet with the heavy dew. The poor little wan-faced mites look up with haggard eyes longing to go to bed. At twelve o'clock the stations are closed. If the air raid comes later the people must shift for themselves as best they can. But many leave at eleven o'clock to catch the last 'bus home. In our view the advantage of leaving home to take shelter is very doubtful; a surprise raid may take place whilst the refugees are returning when the last 'bus leaves, the Tube closes, or the danger is thought to have passed. Moreover, the children especially are subjected to cold, fatigue, and jostling, and the terror is more sharply impressed upon their minds than if they were put to bed quietly as usual. The demand for reprisals continues, for people cling desparately to the hope that they will stop the air raids if only the Government can be induced to put them into effect. But the hope is absolutely vain. Reprisals will not stop the air raids. The bombing of German towns is continually taking place, but it makes no diffirence. "The Times" of October 3rd reports that during September British aeroplanes dropped 150 tons of bombs on the Germans. It also reports the following incidents:—

"September 30th.—British bomb St. Denis, Westrem Aerodrome, Ghent and Zeebrugge.

"Germans bomb Dunkirk and Toul.

"October 1st.—British bomb St. Denis, Westrem, Controde and Carnière Aerodromes, and German soldiers' billets.

"French bomb German towns of Stuttgart, Trèves, Coblentz and Frankfort-on-Main, depôts at Roulers, railway stations at Metz Sud, Woippy and Thionville, aerodrome at Chambley, bivouacs of Spincourt and Tilley, and dumps at Longeau Farm."

(When the bombing of aerodromes and munition factories is reported, always remember that the homes of the workers are near by.)

Reprisals will not stop the air raids; on the contrary, we fear they will merely increase their frequency and size. The more Germany is bombed, the more certain sections of opinion in Germany will emulate those of similar temperament here in demanding more reprisals. Thus the vicious circle will continue. Month after month, year after year, this dismal history of attack and counter-attack has continued in the air and at the front. And still we are urged to clamour for more internments and reprisals instead of for Peace.

Meanwhile the situation grows daily worse for the people, both of the neutral and belligerent nations. It is now announced that nothing is to be exported to Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands except printed matter and personal luggage accompanied by its owner. The neutral nations will probably retaliate by refusing to send us the butter, cheese, and so on that we import from them. The people of this country (except the producers of butter, who will secure a monoply of the trade) will thus probably suffer most of all.

Another blow at the solidarity of Labour has been dealt by Allied Trade Unionists, who have refused to attend the International Trade Union Congress at Berne which was organised by the Swiss trade unions, but the spirit of internationalism is spreading everywhere. In Italy especially the demand for Peace grows more and more insistent. Austrian newspapers demand that a more explicit reply shall be sent by the Central Powers to the Pope's Peace Note. The Vienna "Zeit" complains that compulsory arbitration and the limitation of armaments are not the question fo the day, which are Belgium, Alsace Lorraine and other disputed territories. The Pope is evidently determined to persevere in his Peace move. This is shown by his statement to the Allied Governments that he infers Germany to be ready to evacuate Belgium and Northern France, and his question whether the Allies desire him to inquire of Germany the precise conditions of evacuation. The belligerent Governments are all reluctant to speak plainly; they do not wish to tie the hands of their negotiators; but the Pope is patiently endeavouring to break down their reserve and to open negotiations. May his efforts prosper!

LET THE SOLDIERS VOTE ON PEACE.

The War Office has taken a plebiscite of the soldiers at the front to discover what proportion of them desires to settle on the land after the War. The proportion is only 17 per cent. Trench warfare has probably given the majority a distaste for a life of exposure, and the minimum wage of 25s. a week, even supplemented by the possibility of a pension, hardly presents an inviting prospect. The big vote against land settlement may justly be interpreted in part as a condemnation of the Corn Prodution Bill.

But something still more important emerges from the fact that a plebiscite has been taken in the trenches. As it has been found possible for the soldiers to vote on a question affecting their future occupation—an issue which must seem almost frivolously remote to men who are hourly expecting death—surely it is the soldiers' right to vote on the question as to whether the War shall be continued, and on what terms!

Has the Government the courage to take a referendum vote of the whole people on this question? E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Militarism Impartially Observed.

(continued from front page 2)

though we have not yet the "certificates of provision in civil life," which entitle those who have served a certain time in the army to be provided by the Imperial or Federal authorities with civilian work. Prior to this War British soldiers often found difficulty in obtaining employment, employers usually declaring them to be "spoilt for work." Liebknecht rightly observes that whilst militarism exists for the defence of capitalism, capitalism and militarism are apt to regard each other with jealous dislike. In this country the methods of capitalism have hitherto been more slipshod, less thoughtful and efficient than those of Germany. The idea that there might ever be a scarcity of workers never dawned here till the War. But already exempted men are

finding themselves dismissed to make way for soldiers. It is essential that discharged soldiers should have employment found for them and that the work they left to enlist should be restored, but to allow a special claim to employment to be attached to any form of military service would be to place a most dangerous weapon in the hands of the militarists and those who desire to suppress the movement for international working-class emancipation and solidarity. At present we find exemption from military service being made conditional upon service in the Volunteers. The exemption of a Mayor was withdrawn the other day because he had not complied with that condition. If the militarist spirit is not checked we may find that after the War, men may have difficulty in obtaining employment who have not signed on for the Reserve.

Another accompaniment of militarism hitherto unknown here which Karl Liebknecht reports from Prussia is the existence of ex-soldiers organisations which are moblised during elections and call upon their members to leave the progressive organisations. He quotes the decision of the ex-soldiers of the XVI. Army Corps of Dunsburg-Beek to boycott an hotel which had been hired for a miners, meeting and to expel from the military societies of Saxony publicans who let halls to working class organisations. Already in this country we are beginning to find organisations of discharged soldiers and sailors breaking up other peoples meetings and at the behest of a certain political group running candidates for Parliament.

Our author tells us that in Prussia the authorities give the young soldier some sort of education :

"They start to instruct him and attempt to cram into him a childish representation of the world distorted and whittled down to suit the aims of militarism."

The British Military authorities have made a practice of teaching the young soldier nothing but war drill. In the intervals between dril s, bayonet practice and other military exercises he has been left with nothing to do save scrubbing the barrack floor, cleaning his kit, and loafing about in an environment in which card-playing and smoking and drinking seem almost the only things to do.

But in England, as in Prussia, militarism threatens to enter the educational field. Our author quotes a statement made by Lord Haldane during his visit to Germany in 1906 :—

"A valuable phenomenon which accompanies militarism is that through coming in closer touch with the army and the preparation for War the nation learns sober mindedness and loyalty."

Because Lord Haldane has left the Cabinet there is sometimes a tendency among pacifists to hail him as a friend. He is no friend to peace. He was a member of one the Governments which brought Europe into War. Liebknecht in 1907, summed up his conduct very aptly :—

". . all the alleged **plans for disarmament** for the time being appears merely as tomfoolery, empty talk and attempts to hoodwink. They bear the stamp of the Hague comedy. Quite recently the soap bubble of the alleged disarmament by England had burst in a ludicrous way ; the War Minister, Haldane, the alleged promoter of such intentions, has bluntly expressed his opposition to a reduction of active forces and has been exposed and proven to be a militarist firebrand."

Lord Haldane is now interesting himself in British Education, and other militarists are displaying a like interest. The Naval and Military Pensions Act gives the authorities power to direct that a child's pension may be withdrawn from its parents and payed to a Naval and Military institution if the authorities see fit to have the child educated there. Mr. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, in explaining his scheme for compulsory education for children between 14 and 18 years, expressed approval of Scouts corps training for boys.

In the use of military force against the industrial stuggles of the workers, Liebknecht of course names the Czardom as the chief offender.

Except in Russia he asserts that nowhere have the soldiers been such willing tools in the hands of the employers, or have behaved in such a blood thirsty and ruthless way, as in France and Belgium. The book was written before the famous French railway strike of 1910, in which the Minister, Briand, a one-time Socialist, ordered the strikers to return to work as soldiers. It was before the British coal and railway strikes of 1911 in which Mr. Asquith said to the railwaymen :—

"His Majesty's Government will place the whole civil and military forces of the Crown at the disposal of the Railway Companies."

Liebknecht cites blacklegging by the military in the Dutch Railway strike of 1903, in the Hungarian Railway Strike of 1904, the Bulgarian Railway strike of 1907 also 23 massacres in Italy in which 78 people were killed and 218 wounded between June 1901 and May 1906. In Spain the same state of affairs obtained. In Austra-Hungary things were not much better. Unpleasant records are also given of Canada, Switzerland and America where the employers enrol armed "Pinkertons" to attack the strikers. In Germany as in England the military are not often used in industrial struggles because the police are held to be capable of subduing the workers and because of the workers' "moderation, stern, self-control, training and enlightenment." But Germany has made frequent use of militarism to crush the political aspirations of the people, and even so late as January 1906 guns were fired in Berlin on the occasion of a demonstration against the Prussian three class electoral system.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

NAVAL AND MILITARY PENSIONS.

We welcome the Government's decision to increase the separation allowances of the wives and dependants of soldiers by amounts which have hitherto formed the soldiers' compulsory allotment, leaving the soldiers' wages intact. The old system was very unjust towards the men who could ill afford any deductions from their paltry wages. It was still more unjust to the dependants who were robbed of the allotment whenever the O.C. saw fit to punish the soldier for the alleged commission of some trivial fault. In congratulating both the soldiers and their families we urge the authorities to see to it that the value of this small concession to the soldiers is not destroyed by the provision of still worse food for the soldiers who are often so poorly supplied that, having spent their weekly wage on extras, are constantly obliged to apply to their relatives for supplies. Whilst some concessions are also made to sailors and their dependants, we regret that they are not placed in the same position as soldiers. Various other small increases are made in the pay of both soldiers and sailors, but it is all very niggling. We are glad to note that hospital stoppages are to be abolished in most cases, but the proviso "except where a man is responsible for the complaint" is unfortunate and will cause disputes.

Mr. Hodge has been telling the disabled soldiers at the Cowen Training School that "nothing we can do for them is too great." He promised

if a man who had written to the Pension Ministry six times without reply would write to John Hodge he would "get the right sow by the lug." We have written several times direct to Mr. Hodge, but even that course does not appear to accelerate matters. Mr. Hodge added that he as Pensions Minister would not be satisfied with the assistance of "big hearted women or men" in training the disabled men; the State must do it. And now comes the news that the disabled men at Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops are striking for 25s. a week!

A BRAVE MAGISTRATE.

Henry Thomas, of Merthyr, was sent home from Dartmoor, where he was employed under the Home Office Scheme and re-arrested at the instigation of the military authorities as an Army absentee. He was brought before the Merthyr stipendiary, Mr. R. A. Griffith, who discharged him on the ground that as informed by the Central Tribunal Thomas's acceptance of work under the Home Office Scheme had removed him from military control. The military authorities then applied for a warrant to arrest Mr. Thomas, but the magistrate refused to issue it, and the military proceeded against Thomas by summons only. When the case came before him the magistrate dismissed the summons expressing the view that the outstanding fact that the military could not get over was that the Central Tribunal found defendant to be a conscientious objector and released him for work under the Home Office Scheme. If that body did not exercise its function under the Military Service Act, 1916, he was at a loss to know whence it did derive its authority. If the military were not satisfied with the decision of June 19th they ought to have appealed. As they did not, they must be taken to have accepted it, and they could not ask him to try the same matter a second time. Still less could they reasonably expect him to reverse his judgment. The summons was accordingly dismissed. In conclusion, he said:—

"I cannot help expressing my surprise that so much time should be wasted on this Pacifist young man, whose value to the Army as a soldier is absolutely nil. A million conscientious objectors will not hasten the day of victory by one hour. This case raises the question of good faith and fair dealing, which is, to my mind, far more vital than any legal subtlety. It has pleased the Legislature to insert a conscientious objection clause in the Military Service Act, and it would be infinitely better to have cut it out entirely than to attempt to treat it as a mere scrap of paper. At all events, it is the duty of this court to apply the law to the facts of the case, and, in view of all that has happened, it would be a travesty of legal procedure and an outrage of justice to hand over defendant as an absentee from military service."

MILK AND BUTTER SCANDAL.

Mr. R. A. Anderson, Secretary of the Irish Organisation Society, Plunkett House, complains that the Food Controller has fixed 206s. per cwt. as the maximum price which the Irish farmer may charge for his butter, but has refused to fix a maximum selling price for the English retailer who can charge as much as he pleases for Irish butter. Mr. Anderson says that the wholesale price of Danish butter is 300s. a cwt., and that it is retailed at 2s. 10½d. per lb. (*i.e.*, 322s. per cwt.) in English shops. Irish butter is 2s. 4d. per lb. (*i.e.*, 261s. 4d. per cwt.) in English shops. The profit on Irish Butter is therefore 55s. per cwt. and on Danish butter only 22s. per cwt. Thus we are paying at least 33s. per cwt. more for Irish butter than for Danish. Irish butter is probably palmed off as Danish butter at times, in which case the excessive profit is 94s. per cwt.

Incidently Mr. Anderson states that to be placed on a parity with the price of milk in Ireland, the farmers' price for butter should be 280s. per cwt. Pretty obviously therefore the milk price is too high, for the Irish farmer will not sell his butter at a loss and it should be noticed that the farmers' representative only demanded 230s., not 280s. Resolutions demanding a reduction in the price of milk should be sent in to the Government without delay.

[N.B. The Food Controller has now increased the price of Irish butter from 219s. to 234s. 8d. per cwt., English butter is 10s. per cwt. more. Our arguments still apply.]

WANTED—COST PRICE MILK.

The formation of a commercial milk combine which promises to prevent overlapping and waste is not what we desire. We want the L.C.C. and the Borough Councils to arrange for a municipal cost price supply.

* * * *

To the Editor of "The Workers' Dreadnought."

Sir (or Madam),—May I commend the action of "a woman representative of the N.U.C." who is reported in your issue of the 22nd to have urged at the Food Conference of the L.F.Y.C. that communal kitchens should not be confined to the poorer districts. The lady who opposed it surely cannot have considered the ultimate possibilities of such a scheme. I try to imagine London without the odour of cooking food exuding from every door and window; with smokeless chimneys for at least half the year; with its citizens well nourished upon food cooked by practised chefs; with an unspeakable saving of the waste involved by the present method; with its women freed from the slavery of the stove; and I think I see, as a result of a well organised scheme of communial kitchens (and ultimately communal restaurants), the sanitation of town life improved to a degree hitherto uncalculated. The ladies would very soon shed their prejudices against the food being "cooked out."—

I am, etc.,

A. H. BOYD.

72, Adelaide Rood, N.W. 3.

TRADE UNIONISTS AND CO-OPERATION.

Great developments are taking place with regard to co-operation in London, and the practical realisation of the scheme of a London Co-operative Council—first put forward by Mr. W. H. Brown at a Co-operative Union conference in 1898—is bringing trade unionism and co-operation into close contact. Societies like those at Edmonton and Stratford make it a condition of employment that their workers shall be members of their trade Unions, and now the latter has been brought forward and similar proposal at the meetings of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. This has been discussed at the various business meetings at Manchester, London, Newcastle, Bristol and other centres, with the result that decision is postponed till after the conference between representatives of the Co-operative Union and the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. This will seek to secure a more effective means of propaganda between the two sections and doubtless if co-operators agree to employ only trade unionists, the latter will reciprocate by insisting that all trade unionists shall be actual purchasing members of co-operative societies. Should such a policy be evolved, there is little doubt of the acquiescence of the C.W.S. in the policy proposed by the Stratford Society. Trade unionists have a good opportunity of helping this forward by joining Co-operative Societies immediately, and registering for sugar supplies from their own store.—From the Co-operative Press Agency.

THE INTERESTS OF BELGIUM LIE IN AN IMMEDIATE PEACE.

"Such was the declaration of Judge Albert van Steenbergh, the honoured Antwerp barrister, at Geneva and Bern. In his address at Geneva, partly cried down by delegates of the Entente Association, and received at Bern with animated applause, the Belgian visitor brought to the Swiss fraternity the expression of the will of the Belgian people for peace. 'Belgium wants peace,' said M. van Steenbergh, 'and that not a German peace, nor an English peace, but a Belgian peace. The Belgian peace must be a peace that will not admit of a complete victory either to the one or to the other of the belligerents, but one which is built up on agreement and conciliation. It must be an immediate peace, since Belgium can suffer neither a too long occupation, nor fresh battles in its territories. She must break with all the false neutral politics hitherto pursued, which the secret diplomacy o Palmerston's country forced upon her and which offered

absolutely no security, because the compacts of 1831 and 1839 were worthless." The barrister, well versed in the Belgian archives, then showed how through the compact of 1831 by English intrigues the guarantee of inviolability had been torn away, and that by a series of secret manipulations Belgian neutrality had never had the existence that it had in Switzerland. That Germany was not by any means alone to blame for Belgium's fate, but in a greater degree English diplomacy. It will be easily understood that these fearless assertions raised quite a tumult at Geneva, which even some utterances against Germany could not subdue. Still greater was the indignation provoked at Geneva and the delight at Bern, than these historic declarations had caused, by the bold words of the Belgian, that it was sinful to try and justify the continuation of the War in the interests of Belgium. The interests of Belgium, on the contrary, demand an immediate peace."—From the "Neue Zürcher Nachrichten."

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD.

The Agricultural Wages Board is to consist of 39 persons of whom 7 shall be appointed members, 16 representatives of workers. Of the workers 8 are to be members of the executive committees of the Agricultural labourers' and Workers Unions, the other 8 will be appointed by the Ministry of Labour. How can they represent Labour if the Government appoints them? The entire Trade Union World should protest against this denial of adequate representation!

WHY NOT EQUALITY?

The Hartlepool prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drink to Women for consumption on the premises should be applied to both sexes. No doubt the authorities would like to do so but are afraid to offend the men.

JUVENILE CRIME.

I find that the common idea in England of the cause of the great increase in juvenile crime since the war began—that it is the absence of the fathers, is not the real cause at all. The absence of the fathers has nothing to do with it; in fact the absence from the house of the average underpaid, over-worked father tends to decrease juvenile crime rather than increase it.

If the financial conditions were the same the mothers will raise their children better without the fathers than with them in all cases where the fathers have no leisure and opportunity for culture.

I find that the real cause of the great increase of juvenile crime in England is the high price of food.

Food is scarcer more guarded and more children are hungry, so more steal food, or money and other things that they trade for food, and more children get caught.

I have watched the trials in the children's court in London—and I find that ninety per cent. of the children are charged with stealing—most of them for stealing food or for stealing things that they immediately traded for food.

Punishing hungry children for stealing is to my mind unjust, unintelligent, and cruel. The number of children brought into court charged with stealing has increased in proportion to the increased price of food.

Many people say you should stop children stealing by increasing the punishments, but I say that the proper way to prevent hungry children stealing is to feed them. HENRY NEIL.

THE KEY TO BEAUTY

"THE DREAM SPLENDID." By John Langdon Davies.— A relief from the "Advice Notes" of the National Council for Civil Liberties, which reach some of us very constantly from the same author, who, writing from "Nightingale Hollow," says "I have come here to re-discover my soul." Read his songs, and you will learn that that is true:—

SECOND NOCTURNE.

"Oh, thou that hast drunk in the spirit of the night,
And taken to thee the abiding beauty of the stars.
Thou art the very breath of the forest darkness,
And a whispered song upon the midnight wind.

Need have I of thy body's purity,
And the warmth of thy breasts
And the laughter of thy limbs.

"I have bidden farewell to the thought-wearied town,
To the shame and the sorrow;
To the hills, to the hills at nightfall will I wend my way,
And seek the mystery of the dark-hid forest glades.

"For I hate the unholy night of town,
Where the worship of false gods veils the holy stars,
And the ghosts of gods long dead have choked the midnight air.
The cry of children and the ugliness of pain,
The houses which defile the warm brown breast of the forgiving earth,

"Sad, sad is the night of the town,
With the sadness of ravished maidenhood
And the tears of defiling lust.

In the woods, in the woods will I build me my palace
Where the forest daughters hold up my roof of stars,
And murmur softly half-forgotten things,
And I will taste of the green earth's nakedness,
And wash me in the mountain streams.

Above my palace gate have I hung the moon,
To guide thee to our home,
And, coming thou shalt lay thy limbs on the soft grass;
Close to me in the silence of the night will I hold thy body
Blessing the stars that uncover thy form to my eyes,
The trees that bend over thee,
Thy wistful worshippers, the flowers;
But thee most of all, who bringest the key of all the beauty of the world,
Hidden by the mist of love's incense will we lie,
Soul with soul, body with body, through the night."

* * * *

"SON OF MINE," by Mrs. C. Oliver Dobell (London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd., Graham House, Tudor Street, E.C. 6d. net), tells a tragic story of a widowed mother's effort to train her son for the service of humanity, and to procure for him knowledge of the highest human achievement in art, science, religion, ethics, by self-dicipline and study, and by labours by:

"... weary fingers that would seem
Unable to resume again
The tasks unended, when the gleam
Of daylight's herald flush would creep
Over the city's streets and marts
And all my being craved for sleep."

The effort is ended by the lad's death in prison as a Conscientious Objector.

Whilst sympathising with the mother in her pride that her son had been undeterred by persecution from standing by his belief in the brotherhood of man, we cannot echo her when she says:—

"I glory in the sacrifice;
Shall I be less in mother pride
Than those dear women with brave eyes
Whose sons have 'mid the carnage died?"

We wish to arouse in parents, not pride in the sacrifices made by their children, but determination that such sacrifices shall cease. The mowing down of youth whilst middle-age looks on complacently, fills us with shame and horror. But we must not split hairs, the writer is doing her best to arouse in mothers a higher ideal for their sons than those of militarism or mere worldly success.

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Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury.

Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

Address Correspondence on:—

Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.

W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.

The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

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THE MOTHFRS' ARMS: 438, Old Ford Road, E.3. Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

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OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary,

Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. 3.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. 3.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND,—"Socialist," £2; Miss E. M. Southey, 10s.; Mrs. Southey, 10s.; "In Memory of Mary Clark," 5s. 1d.; Miss E. M. Morrison (monthly), 8s.

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GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged: Weekly, £2 3s. 3d. New Guarantors: L. P. Richards (1s. weekly), £2 12s.; A. Perlmutt (monthly), 4s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Per Miss Grainger Kerr, £30; J. Robson Paige, Esq., £5; Miss Elsie A. Mason, £3; Miss Isabel M. Hervey, £2; Mrs. E. M. Southey (Montessori), £1; Miss Alice Green, £1; Mrs. W. E. Edwards, £1; B. A. Nash, £1; Mrs. Richmond (fortnighly) 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Fellowes, 10s.; Mrs. M. C. Pearce-Serocold, 10s.; Miss Simes (Montessori), 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Teddy Du Vergier, 5s. 6d.; Miss Phil. Morris (Montessori), 5s.; Mrs. M. Bate, 3s. 6d.

COLLECTIONS: L. S. A. Tool Room £1 4s. 5½d.; Misses E. Lagsding and T. Watts (Green's Yard), 11s. 6d Miss K. Lagsding and Mrs. Bertram (Cubitt Town), 6s1½d

CLOTHES.—Mrs. Lelacheur.

FRUIT.—Mrs. Napier, apples, Mrs Clark, pears.

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th.
Meetings at 12 (noon) and 3 p.m., see "Great Push."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben.
Highbury Corner (United Socialist Council), 12 (noon) Mrs. Bouvier.
The Flagstaff Hampstead, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Flagstaff Hampstead, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Walker.
Hyde Park, Marble Arch, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Drake.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12th.
Meetings, Highbury Corner, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

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THE WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL.
The voting for the election of the district representatives of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council has resulted in the following being elected for the districts indicated:—

District III. (N.E. Coast).—Mr. G. H. Warne.
" IV. (Yorkshire).—Mr. D. B. Foster.
" V. (Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales).—Mrs. C. A. Findlay.
" VI. (N. and E. Midlands).—Ald. Geo. Banton, J.P.
" VII. (S. and W. Midlands).—Private C. James Simmons.
" VIII. (East Anglia).—Councillor H. E Witard, J.P.
" IX. (London and Home Counties).—Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
" X. (Southern Counties). Councillor F. Perriman
" XI. (Wales and N.-W. Monmouth).—Mr. Jas. Winstone, J.P.
" XII. (Western Counties).—Councillor G. W. Brown.

The election of the two Scottish representatives is now proceeding. A full meeting of the Council will be held within the next week, at which the policy of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council will be formulated and a vigorous campaign inaugurated.

* * * *

From Newcastle, Mrs. Hutty writes that a peace meeting addressed by herself and Miss Haley on Saturday 29th, the crowd became hostile. Miss Haley had water and ice-cream thrown over her, Both speakers were kicked and jostled by the crowd. A young girl of twenty was the only one to help to keep the crowd off. Two very sucessful meetings were held the next day by the same speakers.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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INDOOR

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8th.
53, St. Leonards Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Mrs. Ewer, "National Guilds." Chair; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10th.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.15 p.m., Mr. Ph. Frankford, "Some Currant Facilities"

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11th.
St. Stephen's Shop, 86, Hoxton Street, 8.30 p.m. Edward Fuller, "Sex and Social Liberty."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY OCTOBER 9th.
Walthamstow League of Rights. William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

BROTHERHOOD CHURCH, Southgate Road, N. OPENING CONFERENCE of the SESSION. OCT. 7 at 3.30. Mr. Bertrand Russell on "The International Outlook." Vocalist, Wilfred Barry (Eric Chappelow).

FEDERATION NOTES

BIG PUSH.

On Saturday a dinner hour meeting was held in Greenwich. At first our audience consisted of children, to whom Mrs. Walker talked in such a way that she soon attracted the grown-ups as well, who showed their appreciation of our advocacy of Adult Suffrage and peace by negotiation by buying a large number of "Dreadnoughts." In the afternoon a large and representative audience containing many men in khaki and wounded soldiers gave an excellent hearing to Mrs. Walker who dealt with industrial and economic problems and to Mrs. Bouvier, who spoke on the different phases of the Russian Revolution, and urged that great Britain who had suffered least through the War should take the first step to end the agony of the peoples in the invaded countries by a Peace by negotiation. A good collection was taken and papers and leaflets sold well.

Mr. H. G. Russell also spoke. This Saturday the meetings will be held in the West Central District.

PEACE PICKETS.

Our Peace Pickets were outside Westminster Abbey on Sunday afternoon, and, excepting a few disparaging remarks from the thoughtless and callous, met with a cordial reception. More volunteers are required and those willing to help in this way are asked to write to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, E. 3.

Contributions towards purchase of new banners should be sent to Miss N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road

BRANCHES.

BOW.

Bow members are reminded of the Public meeting at 400, Old Ford Road on Monday, October 8th, 8 p.m., when Mrs. Ewer will speak on "National Guilds," Miss Pankhurst in the chair. Branch business will be transacted before the speeches start.

The General meeting (London Session) will be held at 7.45 p.m. on Monday, October 15th., preceding Mrs. Cedar Paul's lecture on "Militarism and Birth Control," Mrs. Drake in the chair.

LEYTON.

On October 13th our Big Push will be in Leyton also an At Home at which Miss Pankhurst will speak in the B.S.P., Rooms, 42, Forest Lane. Edward Fuller will take the chair at 7.30 p.m.

KENSAL RISE.

Kensal Rise W.S.F. Secretary, Mrs. Edwards has arranged an At Home for Thursday evening, October 18th at the Co-operative Guild Room. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will speak.

WALES.

Large and enthusiastic meetings at Watt's Town, Ynyshir and Porth, under the auspices of the Rhondda Miners' Federation and Trades and Labour Council were addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on September 28th and 30th on Peace, Socialism, Mothers' Pensions, Adult Suffrage, etc. Several new members were made for the W.S.F. in each place. Mr. Edgar Evans, 1, Cross Street, Ynyshir, Miss Sarah Griffiths, 1, Elm Street, Ferndale, Glam., and Nurse Hayes, Danygraig, Gilfach Goch, South Wales, have agreed to stock the "Paper" and those desirous of obtaining it or joining the W.S.F. should apply to them. Miss Pankhurst will be in Wales again on Sunday, November 11th, at Aberdare, and on Monday, November 12th, at Brynmawr, where the W.S.F. Secretary is Mrs. Haywood Brynhyfryd, Coedcae, Nantyglo, Mon.

LEICESTER.

On Sunday, October 7th, an Adult Suffrage Conference under the auspices of the Workers' National Adult Suffrage movement will be held in the Co-operative Hall, Leicester. The speakers will be Mr. A. W. Carter N.U.R. and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

LEEDS

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs, Hunter, 7, Sugdenfold, Armley. Branch Meeting, Clarion Café, Tuesday 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 104.

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